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TEWA KINSHIP TERMS FROM THE PUEBLO OF HANO, ARIZONA

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INTRODUCTION

THE information presented in this paper was obtained during a visit to the Tewa village of Hano on the First Mesa of the Moqui reservation, Arizona, in January, February, March, and April, 1913. The visit was made at the expense of the Research Fund of Somerville College and of the Ewart Trust, and was facilitated by the generous help and advice of the Director and staff of the School of American Archæology, and particularly of Mr J. P. Harrington. I have also to thank Mr Drummond, U. S. Indian Superintendent at Polacca, for practical help and kindness, and Miss Rodger, field-matron at Polacca, for valuable information and help of many kinds.

The results of the visit are to be published elsewhere, probably in England, but it is thought that a preliminary note on the kinship terms may be of present interest. These terms were recorded and tested, not only by direct inquiry through interpreters, but also by daily vernacular use of them in familiar intercourse during nearly four months.

CLANSHIP

The most important and most self-conscious social units at Hano are the clans. Clanship is reckoned by maternal descent; marriage is matrilocal; the clans (and groups of linked clans) are exogamous.

Tewa kinship terms belong to a clan system.¹ At Hano, where

¹ See W. H. R. Rivers, *Kinship and Social Organisation*, London, 1914, pp. 71, 82. Dr Rivers proposes a threefold division into "clan", "kindred" (based on the patriarchal undivided household), and "family" (father-mother-and-child household) systems of kinship, in place of the twofold division into "classificatory" and "descriptive". On the impropriety of the latter terms see also A. L. Kroeber in *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst. Gt. Brit.*, 1909, XXXIX, p. 77.

the matrilinear clan system is in full force, the Tewa kinship terms express the facts of social life and are used consistently; in the Tewa pueblos of New Mexico, where clanship is now reckoned almost entirely by paternal descent and the clans have lost their importance, while the father-mother-and-child family has become the primary unit of social life, the same kinship terms are used inconsistently, with many local variations, and "descriptive" compound terms are being introduced to remedy the confusion.¹

WORDS APPLIED TO CLANSFOLK

lowa: *nāḍi* (*nā'ĩmbĩ*) *lowa*, "my (our) people": see *lowa* below.

matu: chiefly used in 2 + plural; *nāḍi* (*nā'ĩmbĩ matu'ĩ*, "my (our) clanspeople", applied to fellow-clanspeople who are not housemates with the speaker; *nāmpāju nā'ĩmbĩ matu'ĩn ḍi mu*, "Nāmpāju (i. e. N's household) are our clansfolk". The Bear clan at Hano would speak of the Bear clan at Oraibi as *nā'ĩmbĩ matu'ĩ*.

WORDS USED IN CONNECTION WITH KINSHIP

lowa, "people". (1) Company as opposed to solitude; *lowa we ḍi 'xḍi*, "in the absence of the people," or, "there being no inhabitants". (2) Human beings as distinct from things and other animals; *lowa p'o*, human hair. (3) Indians as distinct from white people; Pueblo Indians as distinct from other tribes; Tewa Indians as distinct from their neighbors the Hopi of Walpi and Sichomovi; thus, *lowa sa*, Indian tobacco; *lowadi ḍi pĩntaḡ'i'i*, *ḡāḍḍḍi ḍi ḡĩlḡ*, "Pueblo Indians are stout-hearted, Navaho are lazy". (4) Corresponding to the English "clan"; *nāḍi lowa 'o'o 'ummu*, "my people now thou art", said to a person adopted into the speaker's clan; *ke lowa 'ĩmbĩ sa'i 'o mu*, "I am the Bear people's daughter-in-law", said by a woman whose husband is of the Bear clan; *'ĩmbĩ pi lowa*, "their own relations". (5) *nāḍi lowa*, "my husband", and (doubtful use) "my wife".

kema. Friend, male or female; guest-friend in another village or tribe; *nāḍi kema 'ḡ'a'ju*, "my paramour". 2 + plural *kema'ĩ*.

pu'a, *puwa*. Partner, intimate friend, chum. *da puwa mu*, "they are a pair of friends". 2 + plural *puwa'ĩ*, partners, allies (e. g. in a game).

ḡunṡi. Intimate friend, chum.

¹ Such are *papajija* for great-grandfather's mother, *ta'amā'ē'mā* and *tu'u'nyūta'a* for paternal uncle. See J. P. Harrington, Tewa Relationship Terms, *American Anthropologist*, n. s. 14, 1912, pp. 472-498.

sɛŋ, *ʃɛŋ*, man, male, married man, husband. *waju sɛŋ*, male horse. *ʃɛŋ 'ummu!* "thou art a man!" (i. e. bold, strong). *sɛŋ*, *ʃɛŋ*, warrior; *sɛŋ k'awo*, war-song; *ʃɛŋ wagi*, "like men", boldly. 2 + plural, *sɛnnɛŋ*, *ʃɛnnɛŋ*, "men" in general; "the married men" of a household, kiva, or town.

sɛno, *ʃɛno*, old man. As a polite substitute for *sɛŋ*, it is used more freely than the New Mexican Tewa *sɛndo*. *nɔbi sɛno*, my husband. *sɛno'e*, a little old man. *sɛno ʔsɛ'ɛ*, "old man whiteness", aged man. 2 + plural, *sɛna* and *sɛno*; *sɛno ʔsɛ'ɛ puwa'e 'i wowa jibi*, "ye shall live to go about as old men."

Both *sɛŋ* and *sɛno* are compounded to form personal names; *'u'wɔa sɛŋ*, "tobacco man", *dasɛno*, "grass man", *sɛno mele*, "ball man" (a nickname).

kwi (New Mexican Tewa female, adult woman, married woman) is obsolete and replaced by:

kwijo, woman, adult woman, married woman, "lady", wife, female. *wak'a kwijo*, (female) cow. *kwijo ʔsɛ'ɛ*, "woman whiteness", aged woman; *kwijo kele*, "strong married-woman", young married woman. 2 + plural *kwijo*; "women" in general, *kwijo we ɕi pin'aŋ*, "women do not think", and "the women", of a town, etc. *kwijo* is compounded to form personal names; *pu kwijo*, "rabbit lady".

'a'ajɯ (N. M. Tewa *'a'añu*), adolescent girl, unmarried girl (opposed to *kwijo*). *'a'ajɯ sojo na puwa mɛŋ*, "she is getting to be a big girl". 2 + plural *'a'ajɯ*, "girls", "the girls". *wak'a 'a'ajɯ*, heifer. Sometimes denotes "virgin"; but, *nɔbi kema 'a'ajɯ*, "my girl friend", my paramour; *wɔnsaɕɔ ɕ'a'ajuna 'i pisɔ piwe ma'i pɔɕi*, "Navaho girls, ye grow weary without your mates." Compounded to form personal names; *pɔɕi 'a'ajɯ*, "flower-girl".

'e'enu, adolescent boy, unmarried man. 2 + plural *'e'enuŋ*, "boys", "the boys". Of a new-born child one inquires, *'a 'a'ajɯ, 'a 'e'enu?* "whether a girl or a boy?" *'e'enu sese'e*, "tiny baby boy".

'a'ajukele (N. M. Tewa *'a'añuke*), young girl.

'e'enukele (N. M. Tewa *'e'enuke*), young boy. May be added to personal names, in apposition; *pɛni 'e'enukele!* "Peni, what a boy you are!" *'e'enukele'e*, a little young boy.

'e, child. 2 + plurals *'ejɛ* (N. M. Tewa *'eñɛ* and *'e*). Idiomatic plural; *'ejɛ 'um muɕi*, "when thou wast a child"; *'ejɛ 'u wi po*, "thou art becoming young again"; *'ibi 'ejɛ khawɛ*, "her baby-name" (nickname acquired in childhood).

'e is postfixed, to form diminutives, (1) to ordinary nouns; *kɛge'e*,

little house, *musa'e*, little cat or kitten; (2) to nine of the kinship terms (*məməx*, *papa*, *p'eβ'e*, *saja*, *t'ele*, *tuŋ'uŋ*, *ko'o*, *ka'je*, *kuku*) to form reciprocal terms, as, *nəβi saja*, my mother's mother, *nəβi saja'e*, my daughter's child (woman speaking).¹

KINSHIP TERMS

In direct address, kinship terms are usually but not always prefaced by *nəβi*, "my", or *nə'imb̥i*, "our". Thus: *nə tiđi*, *nəβi 'el* "shut it, my child!" *nəβi tije*, 'agu *d̥iŋ 'awo'a pa*, "my younger sister, pray cook for me!" A man who is smoking with his father's clansman says, *nəβi tada!* "my father!" to which the other replies, *nəβi 'el* "my child!" But also: 'otsu'aβe *saja!* "come in, grandmother!": *məməx'i!* "mother's brethren!" (as a greeting, e. g. to fellow-tribesmen).

jija. Mother; wife of speaker's father; wife of any man whom the speaker calls *tada*, e. g. wife of the speaker's father's brother. If a sick child is "given" by its parents to another woman "to make it live", the child calls the woman *nəβi jija*. An orphan child calls the female relative who takes care of it *nəβi jija*. A stranger living in a household and treated as one of the family, having no real relations in the place, may call the lady of the house *jija*. A man may call his wife's mother or his wife's mother's sister *jija* instead of *jakwijo*. The wife of a chief is sometimes said to be the mother, *jija*, of all the people.

2 + plural, *jija'i*.

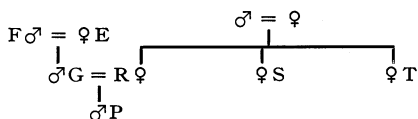
Reciprocal term: *nəβi 'e*.

'e. Child (son or daughter), irrespective of age. See also under *tada*, p. 278.

saja. Mother's mother; mother's mother's sister; any woman whom the speaker's mother's mother calls *kaka* or *tiye*. Any female ancestor of the speaker's clan, however distant in time. The senior lady of a clan or clan-household, who, if she has grandchildren, may be called *saja* by her sons and daughters and even by her brothers. Thus: "kełowa have no *saja*, they are all rather young ladies, nearly the same age". The senior lady of the clan or group of clans in another village or tribe corresponding to the speaker's own clan or group of clans; thus, to a member of the Hano Corn clan, *nə'imb̥i k'oso'on saja*, "our Hopi mother's mother", means the senior lady of the Corn clan at Walpi, and *nə'imb̥i faβe saja*, "our Navaho mother's mother" means the

¹ See J. P. Harrington, op. cit., and E. Sapir, A Note on Reciprocal Terms of Relationship in America, *American Anthropologist*, n. s. 15, 1913, pp. 132-138. See also the present writer's "A Note on Kinship Terms Compounded with the Postfix 'e in the Hano Dialect of Tewa," to be published in Vol. 16, No. 4, of this journal.

senior lady of a group of the Navaho Corn clan living in the neighborhood. An old woman, apart from relationship to the speaker; thus (of a Navaho house) *wi sajamo na kwo*, "there is only one old woman inside": 'o *maju po*, *saja'o'o 'o podi*, "I get tired, having already become an old woman". In folk-tales, the resourceful old woman who is called in to help the men with her magic is "a *saja*". The 'e *wəłɬə*, the subjects of many comic-heroic tales, live alone with their *saja*. Perhaps as a complimentary term, *saja* is sometimes substituted for other relationship terms. Thus A and B, the late senior ladies of the two branches of the Corn clan, were conventionally described as "sisters"; their respective daughters C and D are also called "sisters". Naturally C speaks to her own daughters (E, F) of "your *saja* B", on the principle that one's *saja*'s sister is also one's *saja*; but logically, D's daughters (G, H) and granddaughters (J, K) should address C as *ka'je* or *ko'o*, whereas in fact G and H often call C *saja*, and J and K call C *saja* and *papa* and *ka'je* indifferently. The father's mother is sometimes called *saja* instead of *kuku*. In one case a boy's *ki'u* who named him was spoken of as his *saja*, not *kuku*; in another case an unrelated woman called in to name a boy was sometimes called by him *saja* instead of *kuku*. One girl supposed that her mother's father's mother would be her *saja*; strictly speaking, she would be her *t'ele kwijo*. A man calls his wife's *saja* and his wife's *kuku* alike "*na'imbɪ saja*". The women of a clan may call their *səjɪŋgi*'s mother "*saja*"; the relationship seems to be reckoned through the children whose *kuku* or *saja* she is. Thus (in the annexed diagram) S, T, and all the other women of P's clan have to call E "*saja*".



2 + plural *saja'ɪ*. The female ancestors of the clan collectively are *na'imbɪ saja'ɪ*, "our mother's mothers."

Reciprocal term: *naɸi saja'e*.

papa. Mother's mother's mother; mother's mother's father; mother's father's father; (rarely) mother's mother's brother; father's father's mother. The daughter of the speaker's mother's mother's mother's sister or *ko'o* may be called indifferently *saja*, *ka'je*, or *papa*.

2 + plural *papa'ɪ*.

Reciprocal term: *naɸi papa'e*. (See *p'eɸe*).

There is probably no proper term for any generation prior to the speaker's *papa*, all earlier generations of his own clan being *saja'i* or *m̄xm̄'i*, and earlier generations of the clans related to him by marriage not being interesting. But one man professed to recognize the New Mexican Tewa *papajija* for the mother of one's *papa*.

m̄xm̄ (New Mexican Tewa *m̄xm̄*, for uses see Harrington, op. cit.).

Mother's brother; mother's sister's son senior to the speaker; elder clansman. 2 + plural *m̄xm̄'i*. Reciprocal term *m̄xm̄'e*, sister's child; mother's sister's child junior to the speaker; junior clansman (man speaking): 2 + plural *m̄xm̄'e*. *m̄xm̄* is applied by males and females to males only, *m̄xm̄'e* is applied by males only to males and females. All the men of the speaker's clan who are not the speaker's own brothers, to the remotest antiquity, must be the speaker's *m̄xm̄'i* if senior to him, or if junior to him his *m̄xm̄'e*. (But see *p'epe* below.) Thus an historical or legendary character will be identified by saying, "he was N's *m̄xm̄*", that is, he was a man of the B — clan, to which N belongs. A man of a clan or group of clans in another village or tribe corresponding to the speaker's clan or group of clans must be the speaker's *m̄xm̄* or *m̄xm̄'e*, and, for reasons of politeness, he is generally called *m̄xm̄* unless he is obviously very much younger than the speaker. Thus a Hopi man of the Rabbit clan at Oraibi or Moencopi, or a man of the Navaho Tobacco clan is addressed as *m̄xm̄* by men, women, and children of the Tewa Tobacco clan at Hano. (Similarly, a woman of either of those clans would be called *ka'je*, and an old woman *saja*, by men, women, and children of the Tewa Tobacco clan; a young girl would be called *ka'je'e* or *ko'o'e* by the women, *m̄xm̄'e* by the men.) A Tewa man arriving from the Tewa pueblos in New Mexico is greeted as *m̄xm̄* by any Tewa person of Hano before his clanship has been ascertained, and his people at home are inquired for collectively as *m̄xm̄'i*; *m̄xm̄'i* 'xn *diibi* 'o? "what are our uncles (i. e. the Tewa in New Mexico) doing?" Thus *m̄xm̄* is equivalent to "elder clansman" and also to "elder tribesman". The son of the speaker's mother's half-sister may be called *m̄xm̄*, although he is not a fellow-clansman. (See p. 277 below). A man may speak of his wife's *m̄xm̄* as "*na'imbi m̄xm̄*", "our mother's brother", by courtesy, but the response will be not *m̄xm̄'e* but *s̄j̄iŋgi*, "bridegroom". A man who is in company with his children will say, on meeting a man of his wife's clan, "here comes *na'imbi m̄xm̄*", merely for the sake of the children's manners.

p'epe. Mother's mother's brother. If it is desired to distinguish

between generations, the mother's-brother's mother's-brother may be distinguished from the mother's brother and earlier generations (*m̥m̥*, *m̥m̥'ĩ*) as *p'ep'e*. Similarly a man of the clan corresponding to the speaker's clan in another village or tribe may be called *n̥'ĩmb̥i p'ep'e* if he is obviously much older than the speaker.

2 + plural *p'ep'e'ĩ*.

p'ep'e is said to be "the same as *papa*", and the reciprocal terms are *papa'e*, *p'ep'e'e*, and *pe'e'e* (obsolescent).

ko'o. Mother's sister; mother's sister's daughter senior to speaker; mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter senior to speaker; etc.

2 + plural *ko'o'ĩ*.

Reciprocal terms *ko'o'e* and *kowe'e*.

If the persons concerned are of different generations, the senior by generation is *ko'o* and the junior *ko'o'e*; if they are of the same generation, it is doubtful whether the terms depend on the age of the individuals or the seniority of their mothers. Thus my sister's daughter (woman speaking) is undoubtedly my *ko'o'e*, but my mother's sister's daughter may be my *ko'o'e* or my *ko'o*.

ka'je seems to be a fairly general term for ladies of the speaker's clan senior to the speaker. Thus, my mother's sister is my *ko'o*, but my mother's elder sister would be preferably called my *ka'je*. My *saja*'s sister is my *ka'je* unless I call her *saja*, and my *saja*'s sister's daughter is my *ka'je*. My mother's mother's mother's sister is my *ka'je* or my *papa*, and her daughter is my *ka'je* or my *saja*. The two female heads of two branches of a clan call each other *ka'je* unless they call each other elder and younger sister. The mother's younger sister may be called *ka'je* if she is elderly and the head of a house. The senior lady of the Hano Corn clan calls the senior lady of the Walpi Corn clan *n̥đi ka'je*. *ka'je*, or *ka'je kwijo* is the proper term of address to any woman of the clan corresponding to the speaker's clan in another village, and for a Tewa woman from New Mexico irrespective of clan; *ti ka'je kwijo 'um mu?* = "what, art thou a Tewa woman?" In these extensions it is the feminine equivalent of *m̥m̥*.

2 + plural *ka'je'ĩ*.

Reciprocal term *ka'je'e*.

'ātse'e is an obsolescent term for the oldest lady of a clan, "much the same as *ka'je*". Like *k̥q̥q̥*, it survives in the nomenclature of the imaginary families of katsinas and as a personal name.

pi̥pi̥. Elder brother. 2 + plural *pi̥pi̥'ĩ*.

kaka. Elder sister. 2 + plural *kaka'ĩ*.

kə'əŋ. Obsolescent term for elder sister.

tije. Younger brother, younger sister (New Mexican Tewa *ti'u*). 2 + plural *tije'i*. *pa'ađe*, elder brother, elder sister (New Mexican Tewa *pa'aɛ*) and *ti'u*, younger brother, younger sister, are obsolete at Hano as kinship terms. *pa'ađe* is used in comparisons; *'iði pa'ađe 'o m̥u*, "I am older than he"; *pa'ađe 'um mu'i*, "thou wilt go first, or, ahead"; *'iði pa'ađe*, "his predecessor" (in office); *pa'ađeko*, early planting. So, from *tije*; *nəði tilegi* (New Mexican Tewa *ti'uge'i*) *nə'x'x*, "he comes next to me, follows me, overtakes me;" *'iði tile*, "his successor" in office.

Apart from the question of relative age, brothers in general are *piði*, sisters *tije*; it seems that brothers are assumed to be senior to sisters, and entitled to respect as such, in the absence of evidence to the contrary. *'umði tije 'o m̥u*, "I am your sister [and yet I will stop your quarrel]". *ɬa tije m̥u* generally means "they are a pair of sisters", *ɬa piði m̥u*, "they are a pair of brothers. More fully, *ɬa piði m̥u*, *ɬa tije m̥u*, "they are elder and younger brother". "They are brothers-and-sisters" is generally expressed by *ɬa tije m̥u*.

The following classes of relatives call each other brothers and sisters: (1) Children of the same mother by the same father or by different fathers. (2) Children, daughter's children, daughter's daughter's children of sisters (but see below). (3) Children of the same (own) father, by the same mother or by different mothers. (4) Persons who call the same clan "father", *tada*; e. g., the children of two brothers, or the children of a *m̥xm̥* and *m̥xm̥'e*; thus *Sitki*, a man of the Hopi Sand clan, and *P'oŋ*, a woman of the Tewa Katsina clan call each other brother and sister because their respective fathers were men of the Tewa Cloud clan. If necessary, own brothers and sisters may be distinguished by such phrases as *'iði pi piði*, "his own elder brother"; *ɬa piði m̥u'i*, *ɬa tije m̥u'i*, *wiði'idi ɬa pi'i*, *'ima ɬxŋ jala*, "couples who were elder and younger brother to each other, who issued from the one [mother], the same were fighting."

The nomenclature for the descendants of sisters is somewhat inconsistent and perhaps transitional in character. The mother's sister is never called "my mother" *nəði jija*, but *nəði ko'o* or *nəði kaje*, and a woman never calls her sister's child *nəði 'e* "my child" but *nəði ko'o'e* or *nəði ka'je'e*. But on the other hand, a man may call his wife's mother and his wife's mother's sister alike *nəði jija*; and the mother's-sister's husband, and the husband of a woman whom the mother calls "sister", may be called *tada* "father", instead of *səjŋŋi* "bridegroom"; the sister of the mother's-mother is called (like the mother's-mother her-

self) *saja*, and the sister of the mother's-mother's-mother is called (like the actual mother's-mother's-mother) *papa*. Two women who are daughters, or granddaughters, or granddaughters (by maternal descent) of a pair of sisters generally address each other as "my elder sister" *nāḃi kaka* and "my younger sister" *nāḃi tije*, although the junior may also call the senior *nāḃi ka'je*, "my mother's sister".

In practice, the children of sisters almost always address each other as brothers and sisters, and are spoken of as such; *ḃi tije mū*, "they are geschwister". But my informants, when they discussed relationship terms or explained the precise relationship of individuals for my benefit, gave the following rules: A man calls his mother's sister's son (that is, his *ko'o*'s son) *mām̃* if senior to himself, *mām̃'e* if junior. A man calls his mother's sister's daughter (his *ko'o*'s daughter) *ko'o* if senior, *mām̃'e* if junior. A woman calls her *ko'o*'s son *mām̃* if senior to herself, *ko'o'e* if junior. A woman calls her *ko'o*'s daughter *ko'o* if senior to herself, *ko'o'e* if junior. Seniority seems to be reckoned sometimes by the relative ages of the speaker and the person spoken of, sometimes by the relative ages of the parties' mothers. The same usage applies to the grandchildren or great-grandchildren (in maternal line) of a pair of sisters. It also applies to the children of half-sisters: thus, A and B had the same father, but their mothers were of different clans, A having been born of a first marriage and B of a second: A and B were, of course, of different clans: B's children call A's son *mām̃*. In this exceptional and interesting case a term normally limited to the speaker's own fellow clansmen (real and fictitious) is applied on purely genealogical grounds to a member of another clan. *tada* (New Mexican Tewa *tasa* and *tatà*) father; mother's husband; father's brother; father's clansman. 2 + plural *tada'ḃi*. If a woman of the Corn clan takes a husband of the Cloud clan, her children call every man and boy of the Cloud clan, in their own village and in other villages, irrespective of age and generation, *tada*. If necessary the speaker's own father may be distinguished as *nāḃi pi tada*, "my own father", and a stepfather as *nāḃi kwala tada* (New Mexican Tewa *kwataasa*). As a rule the general knowledge of genealogical facts prevents ambiguity; thus a woman may remark that she has "only two *tada'ḃi*", meaning that her own father has only two own-brothers, although she calls all the males of her father's clan *nāḃi tada'ḃi*. An individual may be distinguished by adding his personal name; *nā'ḃmḃi tada Sulu*, "our father Sulu".

The husband of the speaker's *ka'je*, i. e. of the speaker's mother's sister, may be called *tada* instead of *sḃjḃḃgi*.

Sick people often "give themselves" to a man "who thinks strong" and thereafter call him *tada*; this may involve joining the *tada*'s ceremony. People on a journey far from home "choose a father" as a sort of vow for their safe return and call him *tada*. A person may have two or more *tada*'i of this kind. Sick children are sometimes "given" to a married couple and taught to call them *tada* and *jija*. A host, patron, or protector in a distant place may be called the *tada* of an individual or even of a whole tribe; thus a white man in Santa Fe who fed famine-refugees from the Hopi villages was described as *k'osō'ōn 'imbi tada*, "father of the Hopi". A chief and his wife are the *tada* and *jija* of all the people.

Reciprocal term, 'e. 2 + plural 'ejɛ (New Mexican Tewa 'e, 'eñɛ); own child, brother's child, clansman's child (male speaking). All the people are the children, 'ejɛ, of a chief.

tɥi'u'η (New Mexican Tewa *tɥ'u'ny*). 2 + plural *tɥtɥ'i*. The father's own brother may be distinguished as *nq̄bi tɥi'u'η*; reciprocal term *nq̄bi tɥɛ'e*; this is said to be obsolescent, *tada* with reciprocal 'e being more usual.

ki'i'u (New Mexican Tewa *ki'i*). Father's sister; father's sister's daughter; father's mother's sister; father's clanswoman irrespective of age and generation.

2 + plural *ki'i'u'i*. Reciprocal terms: to a male, *nq̄bi 'e sɛɲ*, "my man child"; to a female, *nq̄bi 'e kwijo*, "my lady child".¹

kuk̄u. Father's mother (Santa Clara Tewa *kugu*, mother's mother's mother). 2 + plural *kuk̄u'i*. Reciprocal term *ku'e*. Since any clanswoman of the speaker's father who cut the speaker's umbilical cord at birth and conducted the naming ceremony, and even an unrelated woman called in to cut the cord, is called *kuk̄u*, it is possible that the title is attached rather to this function (which normally belongs to the father's mother) than to a particular relationship. The father's mother, like the other *ki'i'u'i*, generally speaks of the child as *nq̄bi 'e sɛɲ* or *nq̄bi 'e kwijo*; unless she is addressed as *nq̄bi kuk̄u*, when of course she responds *nq̄bi ku'e*. The *kuk̄u* (whether the father's mother or another woman) is quite often called *saja*. Note, in connection with the Santa Clara Tewa application of *kugu*, that formerly at Hano the mother's mother and the child's own clanswomen used to cut the cord and give the name.

¹ The 2 + plural of 'e, child, is 'ejɛ, but the plural of *i'el'e'e* is *i'el'e'e* and so with the other diminutives. The 2 + plurals of 'e *sɛɲ* and 'e *kwijo* are said to be 'e *sɛɲ'i* and 'e *kwijo'i*, but 'e *sɛɲ* and 'e *kwijo* are more commonly heard; *'imbi 'e sɛɲ'ije q̄i'i mowatsigi kwikwo 'āη*, "they are hanging corn-meal dumplings on their clansmen's sons".

t'ele (New Mexican Tewa *t'ete*, mother's father, father's father).

Mother's father; mother's mother's husband; mother's father's brother; mother's father's clansman irrespective of age and generation, in the speaker's own village or elsewhere. An elderly stepfather may be called *t'ele*, probably because the speaker's children call him so. The use of *t'ele* is widely extended; the father's father, father's father's brother, father's sister's or clanswoman's husband, father's father's father, father's mother's father, mother's father's father, husband's sister's husband, husband's mother's father and father's father, wife's mother's father and father's father, are all called *t'et'e*, but not their clansmen collectively.

2 + plural *t'ele'i*.

Reciprocal term *t'ele'e*.

t'ele kwijo, "grandfather lady". Mother's father's mother, mother's father's sister; woman of mother's father's clan irrespective of age and generation, in the speaker's own village and elsewhere.

2 + plurals *t'ele kwijo'i* and *t'ele kwijo*.

Reciprocal term *t'ele'e*.

To illustrate the application of relationship names to clans, suppose that A, a Tewa Corn clan woman, married a Tewa Bear clan man and had a daughter B. B married a Tewa Cloud clan man and has a daughter C and a son D. C and D call all males of the Tewa Bear clan, Stick clan, and White-fir clan, the Hopi Bear clan, Bearskin-rope clan and Spider clan, and the Navaho Bear clan, including infants, *t'ele*, and all females of those clans *t'ele kwijo*; and all the males and females of those clans call C and D *t'ele'e*. C and D call all the males of the Tewa Cloud clan and the Hopi Cloud clan, Water clan and Reed clan *tada* and all the females *ki'u*; the males of those clans claim C and D as "their children" by calling them 'e, and the females by calling C 'e *kwijo* and D 'e *sɛŋ*. (Observe that these junior-to-senior terms are applied to whole clans collectively, but the senior-to-junior terms only to relationships which are genealogically demonstrable; a man of the Bear clan does not apply *t'ele'e* to all Corn clan men and women, but only to those who call the Bear clan *t'ele* because their own mother's mother married a Bear clan man.) C and D give the title of *jija*, "mother", to the wife of any of their *tada'i*, and of "brother" or "sister" to any person whose father, like their own father, is a man of the Cloud clan; but they have no names for the wives and children of their *t'ele'i*, the Bear clan men, as such.

sɛŋ. Husband (New Mexican Tewa *sɛŋ*, husband, obsolescent). The

wife calls the husband *nāḍi sēṇ*, "my mate", *nāḍi pisēṇ*, "my own mate", *nāḍi sēṇ*, "my man", *nāḍi sēno*, "my old man", and *nāḍi lōwa*, "my people". The husband calls the wife *nāḍi sēṇ*, *nāḍi pisēṇ*, *nāḍi kwijo*, "my lady" (see p. 271), *nāḍi ja'a* (obsolete), *nāḍi ha'a* (obsolete), and *nāḍi lōwa* (doubtful use).

sōjīṅgi or *sōjīngi* (New Mexican Tewa *sōñīṅgi*). Bridegroom; daughter's husband, sister's husband, etc.; applied by both males and females to the husband of any woman of the speaker's clan except the speaker's own mother and mother's-mother (see *tada* and *t'ele*). A man expresses his relation to his wife's clan as a whole by saying '*īmḍi sōjīṅgi* 'o mṣ, "I am their bridegroom". A man calls his daughter's husband *nāḍi sōjīṅgi*, and a woman may call the husband of her '*e kwijo* "*nā'īmḍi sōjīṅgi*". It seems that the bridegroom is properly called *sōjīṅgi* at the end of the marriage month, when he comes to live in the house of his wife's clan: but *sōjīṅgi* is also applied to temporary connections; thus, to tell a boy that he has a new *sōjīṅgi* is to taunt him with the light behavior of some woman of his clan.

2 + plural, *sōjīṅgi*'i and *sōjīṅgi*.

A man calls his wife's sister's husband *nāḍi sēm pu'a'e*, "my husband partner".

sa'i. Bride; son's wife, brother's wife, mother's-brother's wife, etc.; applied by males and females to the wife of any man of the speaker's clan, and also by a man to his son's wife. (New Mexican Tewa *sa'i*'i, bride, *sa'e*, daughter-in-law, etc.) A woman calls the wife of her '*e sēṇ* (e. g. her brother's son's wife) *nā'īmḍi sa'i* or *nā'īmḍi 'e sēṇ sa'i*. A man calls his wife's brother's wife and his wife's mother's-brother's wife *nāḍi sa'i*. A woman calls her husband's brother's wife *nāḍi sa'i pu'a'e*, "my bride partner". A clansman's widow is called *sa'i* until she marries again and even afterward if she has children by the speaker's clansman.

sa'i appears to mean "child-bearing"; thus, *nā sa'i po*, "she is with child"; *wimo nā xḍi nā sa'i po*, "while she lived single she conceived". Formerly a woman used to call her son's wife *nāḍi 'e kaga* (meaning of *kaga* unknown) until she conceived, when she began to call her *sa'i*.

ja (New Mexican Tewa *ja'a*, relative of husband or wife). A man calls his wife's mother, sister, and all her clanswomen irrespective of age *nāḍi ja kwijo*, and his wife's father, her brother, and all her clansmen *nāḍi ja sēno*. (Cf. *ja'a*, wife, and *sa'i* bride.) A woman gives these names to her husband's mother, sister, clanswomen, brother, clansmen, and father. The husband of the mother's elder sister, etc., if

called *tada* instead of *səjɲgi*, responds with *nɔ̃bi 'e* instead of *nɔ̃bi ja kwijo* and *ja sɛno*. See also *jija*.

FAMILIAR ILLUSTRATIONS

The reading of a list of terms is never very satisfactory, and it may be useful to add a brief outline of their relation to daily life.

Take the point of view of a Tewa girl, a member of the Corn clan, born and reared in one of the two Corn-clan houses at Hano. Nearest to her, in daily life, come the inmates of the house in which she lives. The nucleus of the household, the essential and permanent part of it, consists of men, women, and children of the girl's own clan. The center of the house is *nɔ̃'imbɪ saja*, "our mother's-mother," the owner and dispenser of all stores and food-stuffs, the guardian of religious apparatus belonging to the clan, the director of household work, the person who gives orders—so far as orders are given at all in this easy-going tolerant society. Behind her looms the vague tradition of *nɔ̃'imbɪ papa*, "our mother's-mother's-mother" deceased, and all *nɔ̃'imbɪ saja'i* to the remotest antiquity. Whatever *saja* does or enjoins on us is assumed to be exactly what they used to do.

Beside her stand *nɔ̃'imbɪ mɛmɛ'i*, "our mother's brethren." The same general title applies to *nɔ̃'imbɪ mɛmɛ'i* who are *saja's* sons, and *nɔ̃'imbɪ p'epe'i*, *saja's* brothers; and they are backed by the authority of all *nɔ̃'imbɪ mɛmɛ'i*, the men of our clan, from time immemorial.

Mɛmɛ'i sleep, as a rule, at the homes of their wives (*nɔ̃'imbɪ sa'i'i*, "our brides"), but they are constantly coming in and out of this, which they call their own house. They take their places at meals here as a matter of course, invite visitors to eat, behave as hosts and masters of the house; though they do not (if they are married) contribute anything to the material support of our household, since they have to supply corn, meat, and wood to their wives' homes. Their claim to obedience is a religious one—they are "our *mɛmɛ'i* who go out to see the sun before us," who give us advice "how we shall live." They consecrate our seed-corn and

make prayer-feathers for us all at the Winter Solstice: their feather-boxes, dancing-clothes, weaving-tools, jewelry are kept in our house, and they borrow our finery and ornaments as a matter of right. We women "ought to be happy when we cook for our *m̄xm̄x'i*, for our elder brothers, and for our sons-in law, to make them strong." Whatever *m̄xm̄x'i* say is unquestionably right; *saja* is the only person who may ever criticize them, and she does so only on questions of practice, not of theory.

Next comes *n̄b̄i jija*, "my mother," and her sisters *n̄b̄i ko'o'i*, married and unmarried. My eldest *ko'o*, generally called *n̄b̄i ka'je*, partakes somewhat of *saja*'s authority, gives out stores in her absence, buys and sells corn and meat, and knows where the masks are kept.

Then come the young people of my own generation; the children of my own parents, my elder sister and brother, *n̄b̄i kaka* and *n̄b̄i pīpi*, and my younger brothers and sisters *n̄b̄i tije*; and also the children of my *ko'o'i*, whom I address generally as brothers and sisters but sometimes as *m̄xm̄x* or *ko'o*, and *ko'o'e*, according to sex and seniority.

So much for my own clanspeople in the household. Besides, there are the men of other clans who are *n̄q'im̄b̄i*, *s̄j̄j̄nḡi'i*, "our bridegrooms," married to our clanswomen. These are the men who support, or should support, the household, bringing their yearly crops to their wives to be stored and administered by *saja*, killing sheep (if they have any), and bringing firewood at frequent intervals. They range from *t'ēle*, *saja*'s husband, who is quite a permanent, central figure in our household life, to the lately-acquired husband of my younger *ko'o*, who is still shy and sulky and inclined to shirk his duties, and must not be driven too hard for fear of a quarrel. *t'ēle*'s own mother and sisters are dead and he makes our house his home; although, if *saja* were to die, he might possibly go to live with one of his *m̄xm̄x'e*, his clanswomen. His interests are identical with ours, for he too is fed and warmed by the contributions of our younger *s̄j̄j̄nḡi'i*.

Our *s̄j̄j̄nḡi'i* sleep in our house as a rule, but they spend much of the day in their own clan-houses; they have duties in the kiva

where their own clans "go in," but they also dance "to help our *m̄xm̄x'i*" in ours.

One among the *s̄q̄j̄iŋgi'i*—*nq̄bi tada*, my father—stands in a close and tender relation to myself and my sisters and brothers. Although, in the opinion of the elder members of the household he is not so near a relation to me as are *m̄xm̄x'i*, my own clansmen, he seems to me personally nearer and dearer. *M̄xm̄x'i* give advice, instruction, and reproof, not unmixed with teasing; whereas *nq̄bi tada* gives clothes, shoes, and toys, tells stories and sings to us children, caresses us and plays with us. He and my mother and my brothers and sisters and I form a little camp of our own, as it were, in the midst of the crowded household life; we sit together to eat and to talk, and sleep together on my mother's own sheepskins and blankets. My father likes to sleep with my little brother's head on his shoulder.

The other half of our clan inhabits the ancestral house from which our *saja*'s mother migrated many years ago. The old lady who presides over it is "a sort of sister" to our *saja*, and addresses her sometimes as "elder sister," *kaka*, sometimes as "mother's elder sister," *ka'je*. Her daughters and daughter's children call our *saja* sometimes *ka'je*, sometimes *saja*. We address their *saja* in the same way. The members of her household are our *matu'i*, and they ought to be our nearest friends; but there are times when a degree of coldness, or perhaps of jealousy, keeps us apart. Our *m̄xm̄x'i* are not very good friends with their *s̄q̄j̄iŋgi'i*.

Outside our own clan we have four groups of relations with whom we come into almost daily contact.

One of these is my father's clan, in which all the men and boys, irrespective of age, are my *tada'i*, "fathers" (though my father's own brothers are my *tada'i* more particularly), and all the women and girls my *ki'v'u'i*; they all visit familiarly in our house and we in theirs. More particularly, my father's mother is my *kuk̄u*, who attended at my birth, cut the umbilical cord, and conducted the name-giving ceremony, Hopi fashion, and my father's own sisters are my *ki'v'u'i* par excellence. Their house is a second home to me; they caress me, wash, comb, and cut my hair, improve my manners

and morals—my youngest *ki'v'u* is modern enough to make clothes for me on the American sewing-machine. From time to time my sisters and I grind corn for them; and whenever my father gives clothes to us or to my mother, we make a formal presentation of wafer-bread and other food "to pay them." My brothers kill rabbits and pile snow for their *ki'v'u'i*; when they are old enough they will go a journey to fetch salt for them. In old times their *ki'v'u'i* would have danced with them when they took a scalp.

The second group of relations consists of our *'e seṇ* and *'e kwijo*, "men-children" and "lady-children"—all the children (whatever their clan) whose fathers are, or were, men of our clan—along with their mothers, our *sa'i'i*. They are our natural friends and play-fellows, and they resort to our house just as we go to the house of our *kuku* and *ki'v'u'i*. *Saja* caresses and admires them, and shows them a more demonstrative affection than she shows to us, her own *saja'e*.

These two groups stand closest to us. More distant, but still familiar and friendly, is the clan of our mother's father, *saja's* husband, in which we call all the men and boys *t'ele* and all the women and girls *t'ele kwijo*, "grandfather lady." Conversely there are individuals in various clans whose mother's father was of our clan; these (irrespective of age) are our *t'ele'e*.

Here the circle of familiarity, marked by the use of kinship-terms, ends so far as our own village is concerned. The rest are merely "the people," *lowa*, of doubtful friendliness, always capable of hostility, jealousy, and ingratitude toward us as a clan. Not that our *tada'i* and *t'ele'i* are always exempt from these failings—they often offend us or leave us in the lurch. But their defection is a definite grievance—"they ought to help us, because they are our *tada'i*" (or *t'ele'i*, as the case may be), whereas the rest of the people are almost normally disagreeable! *lowa to'a we di mudi!* "the people are not good" is as common a saying with the Tewa as *Hópi ka Hópi* is with their Hopi neighbors.

Outside our own village we claim and recognize relationship with members of clans corresponding to our own. Thus we constantly welcome to our house and meals *na'imbi k'osōn saja*, "our

Hopi mother's-mother," the senior woman of the Corn clan in Walpi. We have a *saja* at Tuba City, and a Navaho *saja*. *M̄xm̄x'i*—men of the clan—from all the Hopi villages visit us: they come to our house to eat and sleep; our women offer to wash and comb their hair, our men let them into good bargains. Our grievances against our fellow-villagers are discussed with them quite freely, and it is taken for granted that they will take our side of the question. Similarly, since my own father is of the Hano Cloud clan, I call a Cloud-clan man from Oraibi or New Mexico "father"; and as my mother's father is of the Bear clan, I call a Bear-clan man from any village *t'ele*—not forgetting the members of linked clans who share these titles.

Deferring to another occasion the discussion in detail of the usages of kinship terms at Hano and the comparison of them with the usages of the New Mexican Tewa, I will briefly indicate their bearing on the regulation of marriage.

It will be convenient to take, again, the view-point of a Tewa girl.

There is no prescribed clan from which she must take a husband.

Her own clan is forbidden to her, and the mere suggestion of marriage with a clansman, even a conventional clansman from another village, gives her a very disagreeable impression. If her clan is one of a group of linked clans, marriage with members of the linked clans is equally forbidden. Thus a woman of the Tobacco clan at Hano could not marry a man of the Rabbit clan at Walpi.

Her father's clan, with its linked clans if any, is forbidden: she cannot marry any man whom she calls *tada*.

Her mother's father's clan is not forbidden: she can marry a man whom she calls *t'ele*, or conversely, a man whose mother's-father was of her clan.

She cannot marry her *'e seŋ*, a man whose father was of her clan. That is, her brother's son, and her mother's brother's son, are barred.

She cannot marry a man who has the same *tada* as herself. Thus, she cannot marry her own father's son by another wife (and so of another clan); he is her "brother," *piŋi* or *tije*. She cannot

marry her own father's brother's son; he is her "brother," because they call the same men *tada*. Occasionally a girl marries her father's sister's son's son, but this is spoken of as an instance of modern license, for her father's sister's son is her *tada*, and therefore his son is her "brother."

It will be seen that by the Hano regulations three kinds of cousin-marriage are barred. Marriage between the children of sisters is barred by the prohibition of marriage within the clan. Marriage between the children of two brothers is barred because they have common *tada'i*. And marriage between the children of a brother and a sister is barred by the rule which forbids a woman to marry her *tada* or her 'e *sɛŋ*.

This last rule is cited by the Hano Tewa themselves as the chief difference in custom between themselves and the Hopi, since cross-cousin marriage (between the children of a brother and a sister) is occasional at Walpi and Sichomovi, and regular in all the other Hopi villages. At the same time there are indications of a former Tewa custom of cross-cousin marriage, or, in other words, of the repeated and prescribed intermarriage of a pair of clans. When a boy baby is brought to visit in the house of his father's clan, he is loudly welcomed as the "husband," *sɛŋ*, of one of the girls of the clan, that is, of one of his *ki'u'i*, whom by present-day custom he cannot marry. In the same way a girl baby is hailed as the "wife" of one of her *tada'i*. A woman speaks of her son's sons in jest as "our bridegrooms," *sɔjɪŋvi'i*, as if they were expected to marry some of the girls of her clan. A man must "pretend to like" his father's sister's daughters and his father's sisters. (Similarly a woman must "pretend to like" the husbands of her father's clanswomen.) When a young man's approaching marriage is announced, his *ki'u'i*, the women of his father's clan, are supposed to take it amiss; they "fight" one of his clanswomen and daub her with mud, or they visit his clan-house to "scold" and "talk queerly." A grown-up girl sometimes playfully warns-off other girls from her mother's brother's son, her 'e *sɛŋ*; although she may not marry him, she half-seriously resents the advances of other girls toward him.

In a less degree a woman is expected to resent the marriage of a man who is her *t'eîe'e*, i. e., whose mother's father was her clansman: she affects a little coolness toward the young man's clan, threatens not to ask his sisters to her house, and so on.

The Tewa themselves give no explanation of these inconsistent usages.

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